LABOUR MONTHLY

EDITOR R. PALME DUTT

WAR CRIMINALS

by

D. N. PRITT, K.C., M.P.

NOTES OF THE MONTH — R.P.D.

THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN — William Rust

THE T.U.C. AND THE NEW BRITAIN — J. R. Campbell

Etc., Etc.

27 YEARS

by

W. GALLACHER, M.P.

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

Victorious Anniversary—Liberation of Europe—Blackpool Decisions—Moscow Conference—Acorn and Oak—Socialist Efficiency—Conservative Witnesses —Facing New Facts—Half the Picture—Power for a Purpose—World Co-operation—Dumbarton Oaks Plan—League Contrasts—Great Powers' Role—Politics and Machinery—Basis of Collective Security—Anglo-Soviet-American Co-operation—Security Council — Critics Answered — Disruptive Mischief-Making—Unity or War—American Presidential Election—Blackpool and British Political Situation—Labour Party and Unity.

THE Twenty-seventh Anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Union falls at a moment of the highest achievement, not only of the Soviet people, but of all the progressive peoples of the world in close association with the Soviet people. By the date of the anniversary it may confidently be expected that the Nazi invaders will be finally cleared from Soviet territory. The most formidable, aggressive and brutal military power the world has ever known, which until its attack on the Soviet Union, had advanced from victory to victory throughout the Continent of Europe, has now at last, after three and a quarter years of cruel and costly fighting without equal in the records of war, not only been driven back to its starting point and beyond, but routed, shattered and broken beyond recovery, to the eve of its near approaching final defeat and destruction, by the armies of Soviet Power fighting in association with all the peoples of the United Nations. This victory has decided the future of human history. This victory, now drawing close to completion, however harsh the final fighting still to be faced, is opening a new world era.

LIBERATION sweeps through Europe and, as it advances, greets this Twenty-seventh Anniversary. Freed capitals and freed countries, where before the Nazi executioner held sway to impose the silence of terror and the tomb, will acclaim the Soviet anniversary in thunderous mass demonstrations. The freed peoples of Europe, recognising the part played by every country of the United Nations, as well as by their own underground movements and guerilla fighters, recognise not least the part played by the Red Army, which first broke Nazi power, which first showed how to defeat the Nazi armies, which tore the guts from those armies and exterminated the flower of their youth and their strength, until all could join in for the final destruction of the stricken beast. The face of Europe is changing. Already in eight States of Europe new democratic Governments have come to power, based on the national resistance movements, and uniting anti-fascist democrats, socialists and communists in the common cause. The old Europe, which ended in the filth of capitulation and the Quisling regimes, is going down. A new Europe of the peoples is being born. And this new Europe of the peoples greets the Twenty-seventh Anniversary.

AT Blackpool the representatives of the Soviet Trade Unions and of the British Trades Union Congress, the two greatest united Trade Union organisations of the world, the Soviet Trade Unions with their twenty-seven million members, and the British Trades Union Congress with now the highest membership on record of seven millions, proclaim their unity in the common struggle against fascism, for the destruction of

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Nazi power, and for the aims of the United Nations. They stand united for the calling of the World Trade Union Conference in the beginning of 1945, which will draw together the organised workers from every continent, without distinction of colour, race or political creed, within the common aims of the organised working-class, and thus help to strengthen the part which the international working-class will be able to play in the shaping of the new world.

AT Moscow the British, Soviet and American statesmen have met to prepare the common plans for the last phase of the war in Europe, for the final destruction of Nazi power, the settlement of the future of Germany and the building of the new liberated Europe of independent democratic nations. The planners at Dumbarton Oaks have prepared the blueprint for the first world association of nations to maintain world peace, through the permanent carrying forward of the United Nations from the war into the peace, and under the leadership of Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, China and eventually France. These are concrete steps and beginnings of the carrying forward into the world of realisation of the aims proclaimed less than a year ago in the Teheran Agreement.

IT is a far cry from the young Soviet Republic battling for existence twenty-seven years ago to the mighty socialist world power, whose strength and constructive political role is recognised by all today. It is a far cry from the isolation in a hostile world twenty-seven years ago to the association of the victorious United Nations today. The victory of socialism in the old Russia twenty-seven years ago has not only changed the face of one-sixth of the earth. It is changing the face of the world. The battle against fascism has proved the turning-point of world history. The stream of advance of the progressive nations of the world is drawing into ever closer association with the advance of the Soviet people in a broad common stream. Such is the outcome of twenty-seven years. What will the next twenty-seven years bring? It is, indeed, a mighty oak that has sprung from the vigorous sapling of the Bolshevik Revolution of twenty-seven years ago, and from the acorn of the foundation of the Bolshevik Party forty-one years ago.

UNDER the severest ordeal of war that any State or any social order has ever had to face, the demonstration of the unshakable strength of socialist organisation, alike in the civil and military spheres, and social and political unity, has taught a profound historical lesson once and for all. There may still remain a dwindling band of mumbling academicians occupying their sinecure professorial chairs in the antiquated universities of the West, piously telling their beads and turning their prayer-wheels as they mutter the old incantations about the inevitable inefficiency of socialist planning and the superior efficiency of the individualist jungle. There are still plenty of hard-faced and hard-boiled business adventurers, get-rich-quick go-getters, millionaire newspaper proprietors and their lavishly-paid legal touts and political charlatans, who, with their tongues in their cheeks, continue to repeat brazenly and noisily the old patter, in the hope that it will still be possible to deceive the people a little longer. But the more serious and responsible statesmen and economic and political leaders of the old world, whatever their politics and original upbringing, have not failed to recognise something of the signs of the times in the experience of the second world war, however much they may still strive to delay the practical conclusions.

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AS witnesses it is sufficient to call typical statesmen of the right, free from any suspicion of socialist or communist sympathies. First, General Smuts (who has already had to make his recantation on France, with his message to France on October 16, 1944, that "a great people has risen again," ten months after his notorious epitaph that "France has gone, and will be gone in our day, and perhaps for many a day"). General Smuts addressed the South African Senate on post-war world prospects on March 31, 1944. His theme, advancing beyond the theme of "Russia's phenomenal and inexplicable rise" of his speech of last December, now included the following, according to the press report summaries:—

He described the Russian advance against the German Army as one of the outstanding feats of arms of the human race. The leadership that had led to that vast achievement had set the whole world wondering. They might decry Communism, but if these were its fruits, they were face to face with a new fact with which they would have to reckon for generations.

Similarly the spokesman of the State Department, Adolf Berle, United States Assistant Secretary of State, speaking on the basic shift of world forces, on July 27, 1944:

There would be an increase in Russian power, due not only to a rise in the population, but to her growing industrial and scientific effectiveness. Western Europe's and America's substantial monopoly in developments of modern science, industries and transport was now passing.This was the beginning of a new era.

NEVERTHELESS, these statesmen of the right and conservative realists, who have correctly recognised the strength and significance of the Soviet Union, and seek to adapt their policies to the new relations of world forces, have still seen only half the picture. They recognise the basic shift in the world relations of forces arising from the demonstration of the strength and efficiency and speed of advance of socialist organisation, the new power which Communism represents, and which they have to recognise in the world of reality, independently of theoretical preconceptions and prejudices. Nor is it a matter for surprise that it should have needed a war to open the eyes of these somewhat slow-motion realists; and that, while the miracles of peacetime construction should have left them cold or doubting or faintly patronising, the thunderbolt that has awakened them has been the grim ordeal of war, which permits of no deceptions.

BUT they still see the lesson in terms only of power, of the politics of power, and the inevitable shift in the relations of world power. Busily, anxiously, sometimes with undisguised foreboding, they make their calculations and seek to adapt their policies to the new realities. This recognition of the new relations of power is, at any rate, the beginning of wisdom. It is a thousand miles in advance of the outlook of the die-hard shellback isolationists who see the new conditions only in terms of hostility. But it is only the beginning of wisdom, not the end. Behind the outlook of many of these exponents of realism there still lurks fear, anxiety, the sense of rivalry. A Smuts pleads for the federation of Britain and Western Europe to balance the power of the Soviet Union. A Lippmann urges the unity of "the Atlantic community" as a counterpoise to the Soviet Union. Unlike the professors, who pretend to fear socialist inefficiency, they fear socialist efficiency. They still see a threat instead of a promise.

WHAT they fail to see is that this new power which has been demonstrated in the present war, on the sure foundation of socialist organisation, this new power

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of the socialist principle inspiring scores of millions of human beings in an organised community to matchless heights of endeavour and achievement, this power of the socialist principle, whose scientific expression is Marxism, and whose present State embodiment is the Soviet Union, is the greatest constructive force of human history. It is no threat, but the hope of the world. It is no enemy, but the strongest champion and helper of every progressive aspiration of mankind. Every year and every month, as this power grows, it is changing the balance of world forces in the interests of the common man. Already its strength and armed preparedness has made possible the defeat of fascism, the most dangerous enemy human progress has yet had to face. But the defeat of fascism is only the beginning; not the end. This same strength is being exerted, with no less intensity, and with all the prestige of victory, on the side of human co-operation and common progressive endeavour in the new world of democratic opportunity which will follow the defeat of fascism.

THIS aim of world co-operation, building on the foundation of the first beginnings in the common partnership of the United Nations in the struggle against fascism, goes forward, grows and expands in scope, in spite of all the heavy obstacles in the path. The foundation stone, as well as the guiding master plan, for the fulfilment of this aim was laid in the Teheran Agreement of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union last December. Since then a host of concrete endeavour has gone forward for the further practical development of these principles in a series of spheres. The Bretton Woods Monetary and Financial Agreement, adopted by the expert representatives of forty-four nations last July, and constituting a united plan in place of the previous divergent plans, for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, represents an important step forward in the economic field, which requires to be backed up by united support in all countries to secure its adoption and operation. This month a new milestone has been achieved with the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks plan, agreed by the representatives of the British, American, Soviet and Chinese Governments, for the world organisation of security. The world organisation of security is and must be the keystone of the arch of post-war world co-operation. The most careful attention needs therefore to be given to the Dumbarton Oaks plan; for with this machinery is bound up the future of world peace.

IN accordance with the principle of "open covenants openly arrived at," the Dumbarton Oaks plan has been published in draft form for consideration and discussion by world opinion before adoption. It is not yet a completed draft; the question on voting procedure on the Security Council has still to be settled. It represents ninety per cent. agreement, as President Roosevelt has stated, and not yet one hundred per cent. agreement. It has still to be adopted by the Governments concerned. But the agreement already reached and embodied in this plan, approved by the official representatives of the Governments which will have the principal responsibility for its operation, represents in fact an enormous success of far-reaching significance for the future. No plan and no machinery can guarantee world peace. The maintenance of world peace will depend on the co-operation of the democratic nations of the world against aggression, and especially of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. What the Dumbarton Oaks plan does

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is to provide the machinery through which such co-operation can effectively function to maintain peace.

CURRENT comment has generally compared the Dumbarton Oaks plan to the League of Nations, and discussed the resemblances and differences. There are plenty of superficial resemblances in the outward forms: the Assembly of sovereign and equal nations; the Council of permanent Powers together with non-permanent elected representatives of other States; the International Court of Justice; the weapon of economic and military sanctions against aggression. There is a more basic resemblance in the recognition of the principle of collective security as the only method of maintaining peace in a world of sovereign States (the supposed alternative of a federal world system or supra-national authority is out of the question, so long as the present deep divergences of social and political systems continues). Nevertheless, the differences are more important than the resemblances; for the heart of the new proposals lies in these differences.

WHILE the Covenant of the League of Nations formally recognised the principle of collective security, that recognition was rendered in practice ineffective by the accompanying limitations, weaknesses and reactionary factors which characterised the League from the outset and paralysed its work as a constructive force for peace. The experience of the crucial years before the present war, when it would have still been possible and even relatively easy to check the initial stages of fascist aggression by combined action, showed that what was at fault was not the principle of collective security, but the lack of will of the dominant Great Powers to operate it. Herein lies the crux of the problem, in the light of which the Dumbarton Oaks plan has been prepared. The reactionary Governments of the sectional group of Powers which dominated the League refused to operate the principle of collective security, preferred to give free path to fascism and its aggression, and thereby wrecked the League and opened the way to the present war. Must this experience be repeated in the future? How far does the Dumbarton Oaks plan succeed in tackling this problem? It is in the light of this fundamental issue that the mechanics of the plan need to be judged.

THE basic answer to this question can, of course, only be political; it cannot be solved by machinery. It lies in the continuance of the policy of the Powers which has found expression in the Teheran Agreement. It lies in carrying forward the actual alliance of the United Nations, sprung into being in the common struggle against fascism, from the war into the peace, and similarly carrying forward that nucleus of decisive leadership already existing in the United Nations, and expressed in the role of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. In this connection it is significant that the Dumbarton Oaks plan does not propose the founding of some brand-new world organisation ; what it proposes is the adoption of a "Charter of the United Nations," that is, that the existing alliance of the United Nations, sprung out of the historical process of the struggle of the democratic nations against fascism, develop into a permanent organisation for world security, to be known as "the United Nations." The solution finally lies in the character of the Governments and the popular will behind the Governments composing the alliance. But while the final solution is thus necessarily political, the machinery of the alliance for security must correspond to this political basis and facilitate its

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operation. It is here that arises the significance of the essential differences of the Dumbarton Oaks plan from the League of Nations, which are calculated to correct the main weaknesses that characterised the League of Nations.

FIRST, a world organisation for security, to be effective, must embrace the principal World Powers. Otherwise the principle of collective security fails to correspond to the real relations of power; the collective power ceases to be obviously and overwhelmingly stronger than the forces of aggression; and under such circumstances the abstract formula of collective security, preached as a panacea, could become a dangerous and disarming myth. But the League of Nations was never in practice a world organisation of the leading World Powers. It excluded the Soviet Union from the outset, until its declining years, and never included the United States. Thus the two principal World Powers were outside it. It was in practice mainly an Anglo-French and West European organisation, and did not embody any effective union of world power for the maintenance of peace. The real relations of world power did not correspond to the formal machinery for collective security. On the other hand, the United Nations represent the first world organisation, embracing all the World Powers which will play a role after the destruction of fascism. The real relations of world power and the machinery for maintaining world security thus correspond. The partnership of Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States, as the principal Powers leading the United Nations, is fully adequate to protect world peace, provided their co-operation is maintained. The role of China among the four founding Powers, together with the fifth place reserved for France, further emphasises the broad world-character of the organisation.

SECOND, the League was from the outset strongly anti-Soviet in character, and even primarily designed as a counter-revolutionary instrument against any revolution of the peoples in Europe. This reactionary role was especially marked in its early years; and the acceptance of membership of the Soviet Union in its declining years of weakness came too late to undo the harm already caused or change the outcome. This original character was also reflected in its dying act, when the League, which had connived at every aggression of Hitler and Japan, delivered its last kick on behalf of Mannerheim against the Soviet Union, and thereby signed its own doom. Thus the principal antagonism of the inter-war years was not overcome, but even intensified in the organisation of the League.

IN contrast to this, the main basis and foundation of the United Nations is the co-operation of the Western democratic Powers and the Soviet Union. This decisive key to world co-operation in the present epoch is directly expressed in the constitution and organisation of the United Nations. The broad character of the composition and leadership of the United Nations corresponds to the present transitional stage of world democratic development. Of the four founder Powers, two are capitalist Powers fighting in the forefront of the alliance against the Axis, and characterised by advanced internal democratic development and powerful labour movements; one is a socialist Power; and one the representative of the victorious national liberation struggle of the leading nation in Asia. The European Governments participating will be the new democratic Governments arising from the national resistance movements in their struggle against fascism and pro-fascist reaction. Thus the set-up of forces is very different from that of the League.

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THIRD, and most important, is the difference in relation to the role and responsibility of the Great Powers for the maintenance of world security. In the League Covenant the formal principle of collective security, spread very thin over forty nations of extremely unequal strength, was never firmly translated into the explicit responsibility of the Great Powers to maintain peace; nor was there any military machinery of common action ready. The essence of the Dumbarton Oaks plan, on the contrary, is the direct responsibility laid on the Great Powers. The Dumbarton Oaks plan sets up the new authoritative organ, the Security Council, through which the Great Powers are made directly responsible for maintaining peace. The permanent Military Staff Committee, composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the Great Powers, who are the permanent members of the Security Council, is set up as the military planning and executive organ of the Security Council; while for emergency action provision is made for specially allocated national air force detachments to be made immediately available for "combined international enforcement action." Auxiliary economic and social functions, which in the League became the alibi for evading the main task of maintaining peace, are separated entirely from the functions of the Security Council, and entrusted to a separate Economic and Social Council, leaving the Security Council with the sole responsibility of maintaining peace.

ALL attacks and hostile criticisms against the Dumbarton Oaks plan have concentrated on this essential feature which is the pivot of the whole plan—the direct placing of responsibility on the Great Powers to use their combined strength to maintain peace. The merciless clearness of the presentation, without humbug or diplomatic pretence, of this issue as the key issue of world politics and world peace, for any system of collective security to be effective, which was so dangerously wrapped up in cotton-wool and confusion in the League Covenant, has of course shocked all the reactionaries and muddlehead pacifists. The scheme is declared to be nothing but a scheme for a "dictatorship of the Great Powers." The heart of Presidential candidate Dewey, or of Herbert Hoover and similar idealists of the Republican camp, bleeds on behalf of the small nations, just as the hearts of these big business monopolists similarly always bleed on behalf of the small business man when they wish to oppose a piece of progressive legislation threatening the interests of the big trusts. "Who will police the policemen?" demand indignant voices from those quarters on the left which, as usual, imagine they are expressing a profoundly radical critical viewpoint when they are in practice only echoing the policies of Munichite reaction. "This organisation," complains Lord Winster in the House of Lords debate on October 11, "will be one for keeping small boys in order by prefects who themselves are exempt from the rules that they will administer."

THIS criticism is either suicidal folly or deliberate mischief-making. It attacks as a flaw and weakness what is precisely the strong point of the Dumbarton Oaks plan. Under modern world conditions decisive power rests overwhelmingly with the principal Great Powers, and will do so still more under post-war conditions: that is, specifically and above all with the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain, which can alone fully sustain modern war. No constitutional machinery can change these realities of power. The question is whether these decisive Great Powers shall use their strength in combination

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to maintain world peace or in mutual opposition to promote world war. The former is the interest of all nations, and especially of all small nations. The alternative is the path to war.

BUT what about disputes affecting one of the decisive Great Powers, demand the critics. Who is to discipline them? This pathetic search for a super-policeman to police the policemen (who is to police the super-policemen?) is as unavailing as the similar pathetic search for a First Cause in metaphysics. No doubt these critics imagine that the united ultimatum of Guatemala, Switzerland and Sweden should strike terror in the hearts of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Alternatively—and this is where the real danger of this type of criticism arises—they are calculating in terms of prospective division between Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Thus they seize on and make much of the still unsettled detail question of voting procedure on the Security Council: whether it shall be explicitly laid down that decisions for action must carry united support of the permanent Great Powers on the Council, and whether on issues affecting one of them the Power in question shall vote or abstain. This question is to a certain extent a formal question; since the practical operation, to be effective, must necessarily conform to this principle, as *The Times* editorials have correctly recognised.

WHERE, however, does the criticism of this principle lead? This criticism is based on the assumption of a dispute in which Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union are divided, and then proceeds hotly to demand that the machinery of collective security must then be operated by majority vote against one or another. In other words, it is equivalent to the demand that Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union shall be required to go to war with one another in the interests of "collective security"—a fantastic perversion of the very basis of the collective maintenance of peace. It is only necessary to examine the practical implications of this proposal to see what pernicious disruption this criticism represents. It cannot be stated too often and too plainly. If Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union enter into conflict, no constitutional machinery can save peace. If this co-operation is maintained, collective security is practicable, and peace can be maintained. If this co-operation is not maintained, peace cannot be maintained. The virtue of the Dumbarton Oaks plan is that it makes this issue of Anglo-Soviet-American co-operation as the decisive basis of world peace inescapably plain, and does not conceal it behind any abstract formula to deceive opinion.

THUS the key question remains the question of the long-term co-operation of the leading democratic Powers, and especially of Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States: the strength and unity of public opinion for maintaining such co-operation; and the strength and stability of Governments based on effective popular support for operating such a policy of co-operation. If we wish to solve the problem of world peace, the question of the internal political situation is in practice even more important than the question of international machinery; for the former governs in practice the operation of the latter. For this reason world opinion is inevitably and justly concerned with the campaigning and outcome of the presidential elections in the United States, in its bearing on the future of world politics, and cannot but view with disquiet any signs of anti-Teheran groupings or propaganda

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in the course of the campaigns. Equally in Britain we need to be concerned with the danger represented by similar hostile forces. We have the responsibility to ensure that the coming elections in this country shall establish a stable Labour and progressive majority to replace the old Munichite majority of the 1935 Parliament and provide the basis for a Government which will operate the programme of international democratic co-operation expressed in the Teheran Agreement, together with vital measures of economic and social advance in the interests of the people at home. In the winning of such a majority, and the establishment of such a Government, the organised labour movement has the decisive responsibility.

HOW far can we be satisfied with the present situation in the labour movement and the preparations for the post-war political situation in relation to this objective? The Blackpool Trades Union Congress has undoubtedly performed a role of signal value equally for the interests of the British people and of the United Nations. It has expressed the united will of seven million organised workers, equally for the programme of the United Nations for the destruction of fascism and for international democratic co-operation, and for bold economic and social advance at home. Around such a programme and policy the labour movement could and should be able to rally, not only the seven million organised trade unionists, but the overwhelming majority of the people of this country. But if we turn to the political movement, what is being done to fulfil this responsibility?

THE Labour Party Executive has issued its statement on the coming election. It has declared for "independence" in the coming general election, whose date cannot be predetermined and will necessarily be governed by the further developments of the military situation. But this formula of "independence" is used to cover two very different things. On the one hand, it is the expression of opposition to a "coupon" election, and the decision that the coalition should be ended prior to the election, and that the people should freely choose new representatives in Parliament so as to give expression to the changes in political outlook since nine years ago. With this there will be general agreement. But on the other hand, the formula of "independence" is used to imply opposition to an electoral agreement of labour and progressive organisations, even though the absence of such an agreement and the consequent conflicting candidatures will, under the existing electoral system mean the danger of a reactionary majority unrepresentative of the majority opinion of the people. This is the crucial question of the prospective political situation in this country, which will come before the December Labour Party Conference. It is the consciousness of this urgent need which has impelled 131 Trade Union national officials and executive members to address their appeal to the Labour Party Executive for a policy of Labour and progressive unity in the coming elections. This is the urgent issue which the proceedings of the Communist Party Congress, due to be held at the end of October, will be specially concerned to bring to the forefront.

October 19, 1944. R. P. D.

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TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS

by

WILLIAM GALLACHER, M.P.

TWENTY-SEVEN years of Soviet Power! Twenty-seven of the most amazing years in the history of the world. Never had a people to undertake such apparently insuperable tasks, never had a people to face and overcome such world-wide, deadly opposition. Only the steeled resolution of its great party and its great party leaders, made it possible. "It is impossible." That was the reaction of the bourgeois and all too many of their Socialist lackeys, to the "October Revolution." "They can never hold power"; "A month or two and they will collapse." How little they understood the reserve of power inherent in the working-class. They understand it somewhat better today, after twenty-seven years, but even yet their vision is limited.

Twenty-seven years ago the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, took over a country lying in ruin. It was not a case of starting to build from the bottom. They had to clear up all the evil and fearsome rubble of Tsardom before they could get to the bottom. But despite "hell and high water," they conquered. Month followed month and they did not collapse. On the first anniversary they had firmly established themselves, as their enemies, outside and inside, set the fires of war alight, in desperate effort to force the collapse that would not come of itself. They failed to destroy the young Socialist Republic and a considerable measure of this failure was due to the firm stand of the workers of Britain. They resolutely opposed the war-makers and put a stop to the British participation in the invasion of Socialist Russia. Well for them that they did so. They and the peoples of Europe are today reaping the rich reward of freedom, for the service they rendered twenty-seven years ago.

With the failure of armed intervention, the Soviet people set itself the task of reconstructing society—of building up socialism. "It is impossible." The bourgeois said it, their fugleman Trotsky said it, and, of course, their "Socialist" lackeys said it. But quite unaffected by the "impossible" nature of the task, the Soviet people went ahead with the job.

The accomplishment of the first Five Year Plan provided the Soviet Union with heavy industry and the opportunity for large-scale collective farming. But what an undertaking! A "backward peasant" country to overtake, and in some cases, pass, at one jump, modern highly-developed capitalist countries. "Impossible." They can never do it. The whole mad scheme will topple down on top of them. Never was there such an orgy of satirical sneers, as during the early period of the Five Years Plan. The press of the capitalist countries outdid itself. All the tame economists and financiers were brought in to prove beyond the slightest doubt that it could not be done. But it was done, and just for good measure and to exhibit how little the orthodox economists know about the power of the working-class, the "impossible" Five Years Plan was carried through in four years. The most prodigious achievement within the annals of mankind. But Trotsky and his friends, also sure that it would collapse, had made a deal with the Germans and Japanese,

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to take over under their patronage when the collapse took place. When it became obvious there would be no collapse they started a conspiracy of wrecking and murder on the instructions of their German and Japanese masters. The conspiracy was discovered and the conspirators properly dealt with. Again the bourgeois and their Socialist lackeys saw the end. According to them the best "leaders;" civil and military, had been wiped out and there was no one left that could fill their shoes. Thus vile traitors became the "heroes" of a thwarted enemy.

When the treacherous offensive of the Nazi hordes broke loose on the Soviet Union in June, 1941, the political and military experts got busy once again. "The Red Army will last about six weeks," "Two months and Russia will be out of the war." "They could never hold the German blitzkrieg." But they held it. Moscow, Leningrad, Sebastopol, Rostov, all have their place in the records of fame, but Stalingrad, mighty Stalingrad, wrote the world's greatest epic in blood and fire. There the German war machine was broken beyond repair. The enslaved peoples of Europe raised their heads and their eyes gleamed with new hope. From Stalingrad to East Prussia, to Poland and the Balkans the Red Army battled its way forward, "tearing the guts" out of the German Army. The people of the Balkan countries saw and seized their opportunity. In Rumania and Bulgaria the Hitler cliques were overthrown and through an approach to, and an alliance with, the Soviet Union, they entered the fold of freedom. All of the enslaved peoples see in the Soviet Union and its dauntless and unconquerable Red Army, the great liberating force, the sure guarantee for the future of humanity. Even now as I write the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary are in Moscow discussing with the Soviet leaders the final destruction of the "Nazi beast" and future organisation of a free and peaceful Europe. This is of outstanding importance. While Stalin, "that great warrior," pays high tribute to the British and American for the magnificent part they have played in the common struggle, Churchill frankly declares that the heavy blows of the Red Army were decisive and that an essential of the future peace and security, is a loyal, abiding alliance between this country and the Soviet Union. So the Twenty-Seventh anniversary marks a new great epoch in the life of the Soviet Union and its relations with the peoples of Europe and the world.

Who, among the bourgeois, twenty-seven years ago, would ever have dreamt that in such a short period, the young Socialist Republic would become the recognised liberator of those who were ground down under the ruthless heel of Nazi and Fascist brigands.

But there it is, writ in tragic letters of sacrifice and suffering. A fearful price had to be paid, but with unbreakable courage the Red Army and the Soviet people faced the crisis and battled through it.

Now mankind owes them a debt that can never fully be repaid. But we can make certain that evil forces do not undo the work that has been done.

Even as we face the final phase of the war against the "Nazi beast" we can clean out the Fascists and their friends in this country, we can unite and strengthen the democratic progressive forces, as the sure way of cementing the alliance with the Soviet Union. The Twenty-Seventh anniversary is the Great Liberation Anniversary. We must play a worthy part in it;

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War Criminals

by D. N. PRITT, K.C., M.P.

THE question of the punishment of war criminals is clearly of crucial importance. For the satisfactory solution of the innumerable problems that will present themselves when military victory is actually won, nearly everything depends on the correct estimation and treatment of Germany; and the way in which her war criminals, high and low, are dealt with will have a great effect on the future of the world.

* * *

Three Points

That war criminals—whoever they may prove to be—should be punished; that the arch-criminals — Hitler, Himmler, Hess, Goering, Goebbels and company—should take their rightful place among the punished; and that the punishment of all, including the arch-criminals or leading gangsters, should be awarded by a judicial tribunal after a trial in proper form of law; these are three separate propositions which commend themselves in varying degrees to general public opinion.

It is vital that all three of these points should be fully implemented. If there is no general punishment of war criminals, the public conscience in every country, and above all in countries that have suffered Nazi occupation, will be outraged, tremendous bitterness will be aroused, wholesale lynchings will probably be practised—involving inevitably a number of innocent victims—and above all the surviving Nazi gangsters will be encouraged to continue working underground and to recruit new forces for another bid to dominate the world—"Our fathers got away with their skins five and twenty years ago, and prepared the ground for our 1933-1945 gangster epoch; let *us* get away with *our* skins and work for our next upsurge."

It is equally important that the arch gangsters should be punished with the rest. It is on them that the eyes of the free world are fixed; their escape—any suggestion that even here there is to be one law for the rich and another for the poor—would shock and embitter public opinion more than the escapes of hundreds of minor gangsters; and it is they who will seek to lead in the rebuilding of Hell if they are not disposed of.

And it is equally important that they should be dealt with by judicial tribunals. If they are left to political punishment, we shall lose the great public feeling of a genuine cleansing that will come from a judicial investigation and proof of the true nature of their actions and motives and policy. Thus, and thus only, will the deep sense of justice of the masses of people all over Europe be really served, and the true nature of fascism and its gangster leadership demonstrated to the world so as to rally the common people everywhere to resist every attempt, however disguised, to reintroduce its poison.

The sharpest test of the determination of the British Government to resist appeasement and sabotage—wrapped up as the "natural kindliness of the British people"—will come in its attitude on these three points, and particularly on the last of them. Any weakening will surely be attributed—and justly—to a fear lest full judicial investigation will teach the world too much of the pre-war links between fascism and its German industrial backers on the one side and the British ruling-class and its international monopoly capital sections on the other.

There is, unfortunately, widespread public anxiety, derived from various public statements and from the actions and inactions of the United Nations

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War Crimes Commission, as to whether the preparatory work for the trial of war criminals is being done with sufficient sincerity and sense of urgency, whether the cases of the arch-criminals are being dealt with on the same footing as those of the rank-and-file, whether in short, our Government and certain other governments "mean business."

To judge what the true position is, we must begin by examining the recent history of the "war-crime" question.

History

One need not look further back than October 7, 1942, when Lord Simon, on behalf of the Government, officially announced in the House of Lords that the British and American Governments had decided—and had communicated their decision to the other United Nations directly concerned, including the U.S.S.R.—to set up "with the least possible delay a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes," which should investigate war crimes* committed against nationals of the United Nations and record the testimony available, reporting from time to time the cases where it appeared that such crimes had been committed, and identifying whenever possible the persons responsible. The investigation was to cover offenders irrespective of rank, and criminals named and wanted for war crimes would be required to be handed over at the time, and as a condition, of the Armistice.

In spite of the expressed—and obvious—urgency of the matter, the Commission was not established until just over twelve months later, on October 20, 1943, and even then the U.S.S.R., whose peoples had suffered probably more than any other nation in the world and whose co-operation in the supply of evidential material was thus particularly important, was not represented on it.

On its establishment its title was changed to "United Nations War Crimes Commission," and it was composed of representatives of the Governments of fifteen countries, not including the U.S.S.R. Its functions and powers were, it was announced, those stated by Lord Simon in his speech of the previous year, quoted above, which it will be realised are somewhat restricted, for it was confined to crimes against nationals of the United Nations, and its work was really no more than that of a crown prosecutor's investigating department; but some little time after its creation its functions were enlarged to include that of making recommendations to the Governments on the methods adopted to ensure surrender or capture of the persons wanted for trial as war criminals, and the tribunals by which they should be tried.

The Moscow Declaration

On November 1, 1943, there came, of course, the most authoritative pronouncement of all, that of the "Moscow Conference." The "Declaration on Atrocities," part of the Declaration made at the conclusion of the Conference, contained the following "solemn declaration and full warning" by the three Great Powers, speaking in the interests of the thirty-two United Nations:—

> At the time of the granting of any armistice to any Government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done, in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the Free Governments which will be erected therein. . . .
>
> The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of the major criminals

* It will be noticed that no definition of a war crime was given.

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whose offences have no particular geographical location and who will be punished by a joint decision of the Governments of the Allies.

Press Conference Causes Anxiety

The work of the Commission attracted little public notice until August 30, 1944, when Sir Cecil Hurst, the Chairman of this Commission, a distinguished jurist of seventy-four, held a Press Conference, at which he stated, *inter alia*, that the primary purpose of the Commission was the investigation of evidence and the drawing up of lists of those who, as a result of the examination of the evidence, are wanted as war criminals; and that the question what crimes, and what evidence relating to them, should be brought before the Commission, was a matter simply for the governments, the Commission having itself no machinery for collecting evidence. This announcement disturbed the public somewhat, not through any fault of Sir Cecil Hurst or of the Commission, but because many people, misled by the general and important-sounding revised title of the Commission, had not realised that it was no more than a glorified version of a Public Prosecutor's investigation department.

But there were other and more serious disappointments. Sir Cecil enlarged on the practical difficulties which the Governments who had to collect evidence would meet in making their investigations in war-time, and on the difficulties created by the differences between the legal systems and procedure of Britain and America on the one hand and the Continental countries on the other; and he hinted that the lists of war criminals would not be ready in time for the Armistice.

More disquieting still, he disclosed that, in the view of the Commission, the expression "war crimes," of which no official interpretation had been given, did not cover either the treasonable behaviour of collaborators or Quislings, or acts committed by the Axis Powers on their own territories against their own nationals on account of their race, religion or political opinions. And this, although statesmen of the United Nations had announced that such acts are to be punished.

Worse still, Sir Cecil made no reference to Hitler, except for a hint that if he escaped to a neutral country it would be impossible to secure his surrender to justice.

The public was at once convinced—quite rightly—that the lists so far prepared by the Commission did not contain the names of Hitler or any other of the leading gangsters, which ought to have been among the first, and the suspicion also arose that none of the governments participating in the Commission—which, it must be remembered, did not include the Soviet Government—had even brought forward the names of these miscreants.

Public criticism helps

This public criticism soon produced results of some significance.

The first result was that Sir Cecil Hurst shortly afterwards explained that if existing extradition machinery was inappropriate to the circumstances some new arrangement *might* be insisted on to secure surrender, and a little later, on September 26, Mr. Churchill, in the House of Commons, replying to a question, said that the remarks attributed to Sir Cecil in the Press did not accurately represent what he had said, and wound up with the observation that "what Sir Cecil Hurst says is compressed, superseded, and if necessary overridden, by what is said on behalf of His Majesty's Government."

Then followed some statements by Mr. Cordell Hull, which made it plain that the arch-criminals were not on the Commission's list and implied that, although they would certainly be dealt with, they would not be judicially tried.

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Lord Simon soothes

Then, on October 3, the matter was raised in the House of Lords, and Lord Simon assured the House that:—

there is no ground for thinking that Allied policy in regard to the lesser war criminals will allow the arch-criminals, who have inspired and directed the endless infamies of this war, to escape their proper fate.

He added that in his view:—

the public conscience would be outraged if we devoted ourselves to the punishment of those who perpetrated outrages as servants of the master criminals and did not concern ourselves with *appropriate steps* to be taken against the master criminals themselves.

It will be noticed that Lord Simon clearly avoids saying that the arch-criminals will be tried, still less, that they are on any "list" which would put them in train for judicial rather than political punishment. He added, indeed:—

I think I have observed in this House before, when we have debated this subject, that when you consider the supreme criminals their fate is quite as much a political as a juridical question.

It is pretty clear, I think, from Lord Simon's statement, that the British Government does not want any judicial trial of the arch-gangsters, for reasons which anyone who has read *The Trial of Mussolini* can easily guess.

"We have him on the list"

It seems beyond doubt that none of the arch-criminals' names are as yet on any list connected with the Commission, for no one's name could find its way on to a list drawn up by the Commission until the Commission had received and examined evidence put before it by a Government which was seeking to have him judicially tried, and of course none would even be put on a list prepared by a Government for submission to the Commission if that Government did not want him judicially tried.

On the next day, the Prime Minister added a little obscurity by stating in the House of Commons that "so far as the British list is concerned, Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Himmler are included. It should not be assumed that the procedure of trial will necessarily be adopted."

In the light of this assertion, it seems clearer than ever that the names of these criminals have not been submitted to the Commission by any government, and that they are only on "the British list" in the sense that their names are on some list of criminals who are to be dealt with somehow. It is good to have that much assurance, but it is extremely disquieting to know that no Government at present affiliated to the Commission has so far even submitted the names of any of these gangsters, nor any evidence relating to them, to the Commission.

Public indignation on this point should, of course, be directed at the Governments, not the Commission. All that need be said in criticism of the Commission is, firstly, that it has construed various of its functions somewhat narrowly, as I shall explain below, and secondly that those functions are, in any case, very limited. On this latter point, there is, of course, no difficulty whatever in enlarging its powers; the United Nations are masters in their own houses, and can empower the Commission or any other body to do all or any part of their sovereign work. The serious aspect of the fact that the Commission has not touched a great field of urgent work is that the work has not been done. And time is running against us.

Principles and Policy

Various questions of principle arise for consideration. The main questions are:—

(1) What are war crimes?
(2) What law is to be applied?
(3) What procedure is to be employed?
(4) Should an International (or United

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Nations) Criminal Court be set up?

(5) Should the Commission's functions be extended?

The first question—one on which the United Nations have expressed no clear view—divides up into several, as follows:—

(*a*) Is the preparation and launching of the war in itself a "war crime"?

(*b*) Are atrocities committed against nationals of one of the gangster states by their own government "war crimes"?

(*c*) Are atrocities committed against persons—irrespective of their nationality—on account of their race, religion or politics "war crimes"?

It is not easy to discuss the first question: "what are war crimes?" without dealing at the same time to some extent with the question: "what law is to be applied?" which, in its turn, can be subdivided thus:—

(i) Is the phrase "war crime" to be confined to offences against "the laws and customs of war"?

(ii) If not, is it to include also acts which are criminal according to the law of the country where the crime is committed, although not by, say, Nazi law?

(iii) Is it also to include actions which can be regarded as criminal because they offend against the general sense of humanity, or the *jus gentium*, or the common law of mankind, assuming that those three conceptions, or any of them, have legal validity?

What are war crimes?

Let me take first the question (*a*) whether the preparation and launching of the war was itself a crime. I can conceive of orthodox lawyers arguing strongly against such a proposition, but I know too, that, if the matter be viewed, not abstractly but concretely, in relation to the systematic planning for years not merely of "total" war, but of the waging of war by criminal methods and with the purely criminal object of exterminating or enslaving whole nations, very strong arguments indeed can be advanced to prove that the mere preparation of such a war is criminal. And it would be a substantial reinforcement to the cleansing of Europe that this should be demonstrated.

Nevertheless, I think it would be unwise in practice for this thesis to be adopted. There is probably no individual liable to conviction on this head who will not also be guilty of innumerable other crimes for which he can be tried and convicted, and to attempt to make good this point would involve great labour and long argument—and consequently an employment of extra time that could ill be spared.

Sub-divisions ((*b*) and (*c*) of question 1) are simpler. It may be argued, firstly, that to torture one's own citizens cannot well be a *war*-crime, for it may be in no way connected with the war against other nations; and, secondly, with respect to atrocities based on race, religion or politics, that if they are not criminal by the law of the country where they are committed they should not be treated as crimes at all, at any rate when committed by nationals of that country.

What law?

To answer these questions, as I have said, involves the consideration of the law to be applied (sub-heads (i), (ii) and (iii) above). The actions I have just described are not offences against "the laws and customs of war"; they will often not be offences against the law of the country where they are committed; but they will certainly be offences against the law under sub-head (iii), if law it is.

The sense of justice and commonsense both demand, as does every practical consideration, that all these actions shall be justiciable by the courts of the various United Nations or by an International or United Nations Court. To my mind it is clear that there does exist in the world's jurisprudence a capacity to move and grow with the times which is amply sufficient to make these novel crimes justiciable in this way. Law would be

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a sorry thing if this were not so. It is unnecessary to multiply arguments, but one may quote the preamble to The Hague Convention (IV) of 1907, which ran in part as follows:—

Until a more complete code of the laws of war can be drawn up, the High Contracting Parties deem it expedient to declare that, in cases not covered by the rules adopted by them, the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and governance of the principles of the law of nations, derived from the usages established among civilised peoples, from the laws of humanity, and from the dictates of the public conscience.

It seems clear, then, that the law to be applied will in all normal cases be the law of the country where the crime is committed, if that country be not Germany or one of her accomplices; and that in cases where, by reason of the crime being committed in a country like Nazi Germany, which has no civilised law, or of the general or widespread location of the acts, or the complete novelty of their barbarity, or for any other reason, the law of no one state is available or applicable, the law of nations or the dictates of humanity should be applied.

I see no practical difficulty; and it must be remembered that the general doctrine of law that a principal is liable for the acts of his agent in the place where they are committed will, as I have already said, in the great majority of cases render the law of the United Nation involved juridically applicable to the situation. The English law of conspiracy, a highly flexible weapon beloved by our ruling class, may find itself, or its continental counterparts, doing an honest job at last, and making a few dozen high officers, who ordered from their offices in Berlin great massacres in half a dozen countries, liable for murder in any one of those countries.

What Procedure?

The next question is as to procedure. This is a point which seems to have caused a little trouble on the Commission, without, in my view, much justification. The main anxiety seems to be caused by the question what rules of evidence to apply. Now, whilst the English law of evidence is regarded by many English lawyers as something divine, continental courts get along and do their work quite well without anything of the sort. The courts before which war-criminals will come will try them by the regular procedure of the court; and if an International Court is set up it can make its own rules of procedure. Difficulties in actually finding proof in wartime there may be; they are, indeed, inevitable; but in difficulties of procedure I do not believe.

United Nations Criminal Court

The next question is, whether an International (or rather United Nations) Criminal Court should be set up. The local courts of the country where the crime was actually committed will, of course, be able to deal with the vast majority of cases; but it is obvious that there will be some cases which cannot be localised in any particular country, and for these it is necessary to have a general court in which the jurisdiction of the courts of all the countries involved should be vested.

The last question is, should the Commission's powers be extended. The answer can be gauged to some extent from what I have already written. The Commission's competence is so far much too narrow to cover some of the tasks which cry out to be fulfilled, which, indeed, the United Nations have promised to perform. It should be empowered to investigate all cases falling under the three sub-heads of "war-crimes" indicated above, and to treat them as crimes if they are covered by the laws of any of the three sub-heads of law also mentioned above.

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The U.S.S.R. must be there

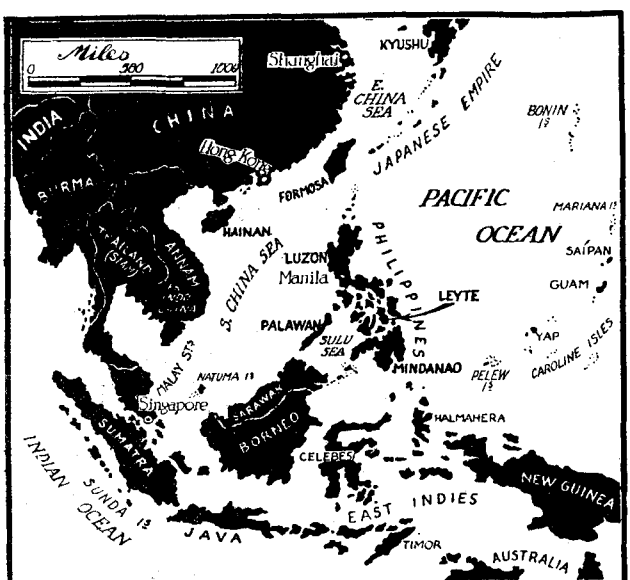
But it is much more important that the U.S.S.R. should be represented on the Commission, and no difficulty of balancing representation or anything else should be allowed to stand in the way.

And the United Nations should clear up doubts and allay public anxiety by issuing one clear and exhaustive declaration of their whole policy in relation to war crimes, stating, in particular, that the highest war-criminals, as well as the lowest, shall be brought before judicial tribunals, and explaining the new competence and functions of the Commission.

Conclusion

The importance of the satisfactory carrying out of the punishment of war criminals is far greater than appears at first sight. And it must not be forgotten that not merely the Nazis and their industrial backers, but also powerful "Munichite" or "isolationist" elements in Britain and America will be opposed to it. The latter, anxious to recover their investments in Germany and to rebuild their monopoly capitalist links with the great German cartels—and anxious also to "erect bulwarks against Bolshevism" once again—will be on the watch for every chance to put an end to the trials. Part of our defence against them must be to ensure that the work of prosecution and trial is done both well and in time; and in all this the collaboration of the U.S.S.R. will be of incalculable advantage.

(Mr. Pritt has written a pamphlet (excerpts from which have been included in the above article) on the whole question of War Criminals. This pamphlet, price one shilling, will be published in a few days by LABOUR MONTHLY, *to whose manager application should be made for copies.)*



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The War against Japan

by WILLIAM RUST

THE realities of the war in the Far East have now come upon the British people with disturbing suddenness. It is time to get out the maps, to discuss strategy and geography and to face the political implications of this second phase of the war. The strategy of concentration first on the war in Europe has been proven correct; in the coming months it will be possible to switch over vast forces for an all-out effort against Japan.

In the carrying through of this war against Japan and for the liberation of the tens of millions now enslaved within the "co-prosperity sphere" there should be no half-heartedness or wavering. It is true that the political factors are extremely complicated in comparison with the directness of the issues in Europe, but it would be folly to relax the fight against Japan either on the grounds that the main Fascist enemy in Europe is now being defeated or as a protest against Britain's refusal to abandon its traditional imperialist policy towards India.

The military defeat of Japan and the smashing of its aggressive power is a necessary condition for the consolidation of the victory in Europe, the achievement of world peace and the emancipation of the colonial masses of the Asiatic countries.

Far from there being doubts as to the justice of the war against Japan, the militant workers of Britain should glory in the magnificent opportunities now offered by the turn of history for bringing such powerful military forces into rapid action for the defeat of the Far Eastern end of the Axis. China can never attain independence until the power of Japan is broken, the Dutch East Indies will be permanently condemned to a monstrous colonial bondage and India will remain under a menace which will destroy all hopes of attaining independence.

The war against Japan must be fought wholeheartedly and with the utmost speed. The armed forces and the workers must give of their best with the confidence that they are continuing the war of liberation. Unless fascist Japan is destroyed tens of millions of human beings will be abandoned to slavery, the seeds of Germany's revival as an aggressive power will be sown and the sacrifices of the last five years will have been in vain.

This full support for all measures for the defeat of Japan as a necessary condition for the achievement of world-peace does not mean, however, a passive acceptance of the present policy of the Allied Governments in the colonial sphere. On the contrary, the coming concentration on the war against Japan makes it all the more necessary to change these policies in order to break the influence of the Japanese in the conquered territories and to stir the enslaved peoples into revolt against them.

The Japanese avalanche which swept across the Pacific and to the gates of India drew its strength not only from the military might which Tokyo (with the help of the appeasers in Britain and America) had tirelessly built up over a long period of years, but also from the flood of propaganda, hypocritically anti-imperialist in tone, which was let loose against Britain, America and Holland. Unfortunately, there can be no questioning the demoralising and confusing effects of this propaganda on the colonial masses. It was demonstrated by the rapid emergence of quisling co-operators and the absence of resistance in the invaded territories.

The Allied Governments concerned must speak in a clear voice to the peoples enslaved by Japan and those threatened by its aggression. They must speak with the authority of the Atlan-

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tic Charter and pledge themselves that its principles shall be applied to the whole world and not only the West. Above all the political deadlock in Indiia must be ended. The Allies must announce a vast programme of social, political and economic reform which will enable the colonial and semi-colonial countries to arise from their wretchedness, to construct industries, to revive agriculture, to build new towns and centres of learning, and to revive the glories of their ancient civilisations.

Only in this way can the peoples of the East be won to our side, this hard and difficult war brought to an early conclusion, with the certainty that the military victory over Japan will result, not in a re-division of Imperialist spoils, but in the dawning of a new world for the enslaved colonial masses.

Thus the war against Japan must be regarded, not as an unpleasant interlude or the regrettable fulfilment of a pledge which cannot be avoided, but as a vital and essential stage in the war of liberation which imposes on the shoulders of the democratic peoples very serious responsibilities, above all, that of seeing that the liberation of the colonial peoples is achieved during the course of the war.*

Turning to an examination of the operational tasks involved, one is immediately impressed by their vast scale and the fact that there is no indication of an early Japanese collapse. Japan still holds enormous territories: the occupied regions of China, Manchuria, Korea, Formosa, Burma, Dutch East Indies, Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, Indo-China, Thailand and a large number of islands.

True enough, that the United States has fully recovered from Pearl Harbour, that its navy exercises an unremitting pressure on the Japanese in the Western Pacific, and that its air force is dominating the skies. True again, that Britain, which has borne the brunt of the heavy land fighting in Burma, is now preparing to send more warships and airplanes to the Pacific to join in the offensive. But one must also look at the immensity of the distances to be covered, the tenacious grip which the Japanese maintain on the occupied islands even after their sea routes have been cut, the strengthening of the Japanese military positions in China and the still unbroken power of the enemy's army and navy.

The road to victory over Japan will be long and rough, says Admiral Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Pacific fleet. The U.S. is continuing to build up the pressure of her armed might until nothing can stand against it, "but that stage has not, and will not, be reached for some time to come."

The vital weakness in this theatre of war which impedes the full unfolding of the Allied offensive is the successes which the Japanese are continuing to gain in China, mainly as a result of the political divisions which are gravely undermining the Chinese war effort. The Japanese are in no position to wipe out Free China, but in recent months they have been able to strengthen and extend their military positions, to gain further control of the railway system, to strike at the Chinese-based activities of the 14th U.S. Air Force, and generally to consolidate their land communications. A through land route from Tokyo to Singapore is an aim of decisive importance to the enemy, as the Allies steadily close in on Japan from the air and the sea.

* This plea for wholehearted support for the war against Japan should not be interpreted as a refusal to recognise the great changes in the world situation which will be brought about as a result of the victory over Germany. The approaching end of the war in Europe raises acutely in Britain the fundamental questions of transition from war to peace, the preparations for the General Election and the establishment of a Government fully corresponding to the aspirations of the people. These issues must now be squarely faced.

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Chungking frequently blames the Allies for lack of supplies and it is true that further support is urgently necessary. But it would be a fundamental error to see this inadequacy as the main reason for the disturbing military situation in China. The main reason is the failure of the Kuomintang to extend democracy and to mobilise the masses for a great all-out offensive against the invaders. The blockade of the Border Areas by Chungking was directly responsible for the success of the Honan offensive. With the aid of only 40,000 troops the Japanese were able to carry through this campaign at a time when 250,000 Chungking troops were engaged, only a short distance away, blockading the troops of the Eighth Route Army in the Border Areas.

It is also alleged that many of the Chinese commanders are more interested in trade than in fighting and it appears, from official admissions, that the trade between Free and Occupied China has now reached considerable proportions.

It is of the utmost importance that the British and American influence should be directed towards ending the grave political differences in China, combating the activities of the reactionary wing of the Kuomintang, strengthening democracy, improving the food situation, assisting the production of arms and extending military training. Otherwise there is the serious danger that the Japanese successes in China, especially the advances in the South, will rob the sea and air victories of much of their results.

Generally speaking, Japanese strategy has now entered the defensive phase and the battle is being waged from the inner ring of its insular and continental possessions. Every day brings news of successful operations by the U.S. fleet and by the U.S. carrier-based aircraft; the most important of these is the landing in the Philippines which threatens to cut Japan's north-south lifeline in the Pacific. These actions, which will force the Japanese fleet into action, represent an important extension of operations which, if successful, will mean the creation of bases for supporting the forces of Free China and for strengthening the air offensive against Japan itself.

Despite its considerable losses, the Japanese fleet still ranks as a powerful offensive weapon and the army, estimated to consist of 4,000,000 men, could be speedily supplemented by another 2,000,000, who have not yet been called up. Industrially, Japan is well stocked from the standpoint of war requirements and its factories are rapidly turning out aeroplanes to replace the heavy losses.

In Burma, the Japanese army has suffered a severe setback; it has been compelled to retreat from the frontiers of India and the Allied forces have re-established a link with the Chinese. But an attempt to renew the offensive may be made after the monsoon season is over, despite the marked weakening of the Japanese army by disease and casualties in the field.

It is clear from the published statements that when Churchill and Roosevelt met at Quebec that they and their military advisers took sober account of the colossal tasks yet to be carried out, particularly the huge volume of shipping and supplies required now that the Allied communications in the Pacific are becoming so extended. It is, therefore, fortunate that the opposition of the American Isolationists was overcome and that a plan for joint Anglo-American operations was adopted.

The carrying out of the Quebec decisions, together with an enlightened policy aimed at bringing the colonial masses into this mighty struggle, is the task to which the democratic peoples must now set their hand with enthusiasm and determination.

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The Trades Union Congress and the New Britain

by J. R. CAMPBELL

POST-WAR reconstruction and its problems dominated the Trades Union Congress which met at Blackpool last month. The chief debates took place around the post-war reorganisation of British industry, and post-war reconstruction on the international field.

The main debate on post-war reconstruction of industry was based on a very comprehensive report issued by the General Council. The report is far more concrete than any which have hitherto been issued by the Labour Party, and delegates regarded it as blazing the trail for the Labour Party Conference in December.

Right from the beginning the General Council made it clear that it does not propose to make improvements in working-class conditions dependent on the carrying out of the reconstruction measures which it has outlined. It insisted that "There are certain minimum objectives of Trade Unionism which coincide with the general public interest, and whose fulfilment ought not to wait upon the complete realisation of any long-term policy. The abolition of unemployment, the provision of an adequate number of good houses, reduced hours of labour, better working conditions and progressive improvements in the standard of life, for example, are objectives which must be achieved in the post-war world, even if private ownership continues in a substantial section of the economic system."

The Trades Union Congress frankly recognised that we are now in an era of monopoly capitalism.

"A controlled economic system is a modern necessity in advanced industrial communities. The choice before us is not between control or no control but, in principle, between control by public authority responsible to the community or control by private groups and persons owning a final responsibility to themselves alone, and, in detail, between degrees of control and types of control."

In its sketch of the type of control it desires Congress divided up the question into

(1) Control of the Economic System as a whole;
(2) Control of specific industries;
(3) Trade Union participation in control.

The report recognises that control of the economic system involves the State taking over certain strategic points.

"In considering control at the national level it is important to recognise that there are certain strategic points from which great influence can be exercised over the whole of the economic development and the material welfare of the people. Many of these vantage points are still occupied by private enterprise or institutions. In these circumstances economic planning in the public interest becomes an impossibility. Specifically we therefore suggest the Government must have adequate control over at least the following elements in the economic life of the country:—

The utilisation of land, the supply of water, the use of other natural resources.

The supply and availability of cash and credit money.

The rate of gross investment and the supply of capital for investment.

The location of industry and general physical planning and foreign trade and foreign lending and investment."

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In relation to these general controls the General Council laid the greatest stress upon investment control through a National Investment Board, for two reasons. It wanted to see the industries at which its members work raised to the highest possible pitch of efficiency, so that they can provide high wages; the forty hours week and improved working conditions. To raise the efficiency of these industries involves supplying them with the latest equipment. Will the money for this be forthcoming if it is left to the whims of the private investor? The Council could not forget the period between the wars when investment in dog tracks, luxury cinemas, the hotel and restaurant industry, and in the multiple distributive firms was on a large scale while the basic industries of the country were starved of capital. The mining delegates were contemptuous of the constant reiteration by Government spokesmen of the need of high productivity in British industry, for they did not see the Government taking any steps to ensure that the more backward industries were going to receive the investment resources they needed for their complete modernisation.

Still more important in the eyes of the General Council was the function of the Board in maintaining a high level of investment, in order to create a state of full employment. The report envisaged the Board not only controlling investment by the Government, local authorities, public boards and public utility companies, but also all the investment of private companies above a certain figure.

This policy was accepted after a long and keen debate in which delegates from twelve unions participated. But Congress did more. In resolutions moved by a number of unions it added to the policy suggested by the General Council. These additions were (1) the public control of international cartels and (2) a policy of international co-operation to raise the standard of life and to develop the economically backward areas of the world.

There were signs in the debate, however, that it was the old and familiar aspects of the General Council report, e.g., the nationalisation of certain basic industries, that were being supported. The new features of the report, namely: (1) the control of the economic system as a whole; (2) the control of investment (private and public) through a National Investment Board, and (3) the planning of the economic system in order to secure full employment—these features were not so well understood and appreciated and there is need for an intensive campaign to popularise them.

Although the General Council stressed that the achievement of its proposals were in the interests of the majority of the British people and not merely in the interests of the working-class, it did not raise the question of how to win those sections of the people outside the ranks of organised labour for its policy. Nor did it raise the question of the political unity of the working-class. Yet, as one delegate pointed out, Congress in the last few years has been forced to lift a number of bans which were a hindrance to the fullest Trade Union unity. Was it not time, he asked, for the unions to induce the Labour Party to lift those bans which are destructive of political unity. Unless the Labour Party does so it will place heavy obstacles in the way of the achievement of the economic programme adopted at Blackpool.

One of the most amazing features of Congress was the fact that the report of the General Council on Trade Union structure and closer unity slipped through without an iota of discussion. Yet there was ample room for debate on this report. For the General Council suggested that there

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should be an entirely new approach to the whole question of Trade Union unity. The General Council started from the premise that historical development has left us with three main types of union in Great Britain. These are:—

(1) Craft unions, organising the members of a particular craft or series of related crafts. These skilled trades will be found in a whole series of different industries. Thus, members of the Electrical Trades Union will be found in the electricity supply industry, the engineering industry, the building and shipbuilding industries, the radio industry and as maintenance men in a score of other industries.

(2) Industrial unions, like the National Union of Railwaymen and the Mineworkers' Federation, which organise or aim to organise all the workers in the industry in one union.

(3) The General Workers Unions, which may organise virtually all the workers in certain industries (i.e., transport, docks, flour milling) and the unskilled, semi-skilled and women in others (i.e., engineering and building).

The General Council contended that it is impossible to reorganise the Trade Union movement either on the craft, the industrial or the general labour principle. At the same time it is impossible to stand still, for the overlapping and competition between unions may become a dangerous source of weakness in the future.

So the General Council suggested a new approach, namely, the development in most industries of a powerful Federation of Trade Unions which would be the negotiating body for the industry on economic questions and which would gradually assume wider co-ordinating functions. They had clearly in mind something of the character of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, but with greater powers for the federation executive and a more efficient extended administrative apparatus. Within such federations all the unions with members in a given industry could co-operate and out of this co-operation there could come in a number of cases amalgamation of unions.

The value of this new approach will vary from industry to industry. Mining is obviously passing beyond that stage. On the other hand, other industries might find that an effective federation was an advance on the present position. Unfortunately, this "new approach" was passed by the Congress without discussion. This was due to the clumsy mixing up of the General Council's report with a rather hotch-potch resolution on the same theme moved by two unions that were comparative newcomers to Congress. We are sure that the General Council did not intend to burke discussion on this issue. That is why the result is so unfortunate.

The main international debate took place around the question of the post-war treatment of Germany. A number of delegates took objection to two lines of policy indicated in the report of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee. These were:—

> A statement that the German people could not be "absolved from all responsibility" for the crimes of their rulers.
>
> The adoption of the principle that the Germans must make good the damage they had caused. (The precise method of doing this was left for later examination.)

The basis of the opposition of some delegates to this statement of principles was due to the fact that it was thought that this was a backstairs attempt to completely annul last year's resolution on the same subject.

In actual fact the acceptance of those principles modified that resolution because they placed on the shoulders of the German people *some*

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responsibility for the crimes of their rulers. But this did not annul those sections of last year's resolution which (1) pledged Congress to help in the rebuilding of a genuine Trade Union movement in Germany, and (2) pledged it to assist in the restoration of a democratic Government in that country. It was only after the debate had concluded, however, that the General Council made this clear.

Added to this was a fear of the economic consequences of reparations on the economy of the victorious countries. Here we encountered the great reparations myth. More than one delegate seemed to think that the British coal industry had been ruined by reparations after the last war. The idea appears to be that if the French and Italians had not received some deliveries of German coal as reparations payments they would have placed larger orders for British coal, thereby providing work for the British miners and profits for Powell Duffryn Ltd. This is, to say the least of it, doubtful. The total effect of such deliveries was small. It would not have been felt at all if the British Government had forced on the coalowners a policy of modernisation of the industry. On the other hand, the absence of such deliveries would not have helped materially so long as the coalowners clung to their backward methods.

Naturally, the method of using German labour and materials in the rebuilding of devastated Europe has got to be carefully considered, but never, never, never, will the French, Czechs, Russians or Poles support the cock-eyed proposition that they will be rendered poorer if Germans are forced to help them rebuild their devastated cities. If any section of the British labour movement dares to maintain that proposition it will simply endanger the unity of the Allies, so essential in the post-war period.

We must face the fact that there is a pacifist hangover in the minds of many good anti-fascist trade unionists. It is that which induces them to believe that if the Germans are forced to make reparation they will be embittered and prepare for a third world-war, whereas if no economic obligations are imposed on them, they will become good-mannered pacifists.

The one thing that will deter any section of Germans from a third military adventure is the strength and unity of the victors. It is because the policy of a soft peace endangers that unity that it is so dangerous.

Many good international decisions were made by Congress. These include:—

The calling of the World Trade Union Conference in January, 1945.

The decision in favour of an all-embracing Trade Union international.

The decision to send a Trade Union delegation to India.

These decisions give hope that the British Trade Union movement intends to play a historic role in rebuilding world trade unionism.

Congress does not intend to be overtaken by events.

As soon as the preparations for the forthcoming World Trade Union Conference are completed a special conference of Trade Union executives will be called.

At this conference the unions will formulate their policy for peace and reconstruction and will seek to influence the British Government to adopt this policy. In this way the energies of the British unions will be concentrated in securing social justice and an enduring peace.

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Welsh National Rights

by C. LLOYD HUMPHREYS

WALES is a nation. We have a history which goes back a long time, a language which is still used in home and chapel, in trade and agriculture by one-third of the population, a literature which, by its richness and intensity, has great value for those who can appreciate it. Our customs, traditions and territory distinguish us from the English nation. The institutions of Wales are a proof of her separate nationality: the National Eisteddfod, National Library, National Museum, National Council of Music, University of Wales, National School of Medicine. The British Government itself partly recognises the separate nationality of Wales by having Welsh Departments in the Board of Education, Ministries of Health, Agriculture, Pensions, and Labour. The present Education Bill provides for a Welsh Advisory Council on Education, and Mr. Bevin has ensured that Welsh boys conscripted to the mines have the right to employment in Wales.

Because of her separate nationality, Wales has her separate and, in many respects, different problems from England. Many in Wales fail to appreciate this fact. The Welsh industrial worker is very conscious of his relation to the capitalist, but is not so acutely aware that the struggle for Welsh National Rights is an essential part of, and of great assistance to, the fight against capitalism. He knows about the trust and the combine, but is not so conscious how the English monopoly of Government administration adversely affects social services in Wales. He can be eloquent against imperialism but forgets that there is no single body to look after the welfare of Wales as a unit, as a living nation. He can criticise strongly the cheap culture of industrialism, but is indifferent to the obstacles which prevent greater scope to the culture and language of his native Wales.

Of late, there has been a far greater working-class interest in Welsh affairs than ever before. The Workers' Eisteddfod at Cardiff was a big success and a similar one for North Wales is being promoted. This will be followed by an all-Wales Workers' Eisteddfod. A Welsh newspaper, *Seren y Dwyrain*, is now in circulation among Welsh members of the Forces in the Middle East. The demand far exceeds the supply. The transferred workers have expressed their feeling of loss at being deprived of Welsh associations and in many instances have set up Welsh communities in their place of exile. The Welsh Advisory Council on Reconstruction has received many memoranda from working-class organisations indicating general interest in Welsh life and culture. A proposal at the Annual Conference of the South Wales miners for a Welsh T.U.C. has been referred to the Executive Council for consideration. Then there is the almost unanimous demand for a Welsh Secretary of State from public bodies and organisations in Wales, and from Welsh communities in the cities of England. Let us ask, why has this interest been aroused?

The war is the most important fact today. Big and small nations are in the melting-pot. On the one hand, strong and powerful countries were reduced to weak powers in a few weeks (France); and, on the other hand, peoples whose governments surrendered to fascism showed a surprising capacity to fight and to develop a national spirit (Denmark and Yugoslavia). Consciously or unconsciously all people will, in such circumstances, think about the birth and rebirth of nations. The future of countries,

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peoples and nations is being shaped. The war must inevitably alter the map of the world and the destiny of nations. Greece, Austria, Czecho-slovakia, Lebanon, etc., have been guaranteed different degrees of freedom. The Moscow and Teheran Conferences reached important decisions on these matters. The Moscow Conference discussed "a broad system of international co-operation" since this was the way in which "peace could be maintained and the political, economic and social welfare of their peoples be fully promoted." The future international organisation would be voluntary and "based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving nations." At Teheran the three leaders "look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences."

How will Wales fit in to the new world organisation? We are intensely interested as a "peace-loving nation." We are anxious to live according to our "desires" and our "conscience." We know that in the past we have enriched the world with such men as Robert Owen, Henry Richards, Dr. Price, Dic Penderyn; we know we have produced great values in the arts. Is our future as a nation only to be in the world of culture? This cannot be. Cultural opportunity implies political responsibility. Today, the United Nations pride themselves that they are fighting against oppression, for the right of all peoples to "live free lives." This should apply to our own Wales. Since Wales is a nation one of its rights is to manage its own affairs. This does not mean withdrawing into isolation and ignoring world events, but it does mean giving conscious attention to Wales as an economic, political, and social unit. A consequence would be a great revival in national character and development. This is one of the messages of Teheran to Wales. But Wales is not "untouched by tyranny" (Teheran) nor is she enjoying "the principle of the sovereign equality" (Moscow) of nations. How much this is true we shall now briefly indicate.

Nations, like individuals, resent being deprived of their wealth, dignity and culture. We know that Wales suffered much before the war. She suffered more than similar parts of England. More coal pits closed down than in any other comparable coalfield, and unemployment rose to a higher level than elsewhere. The rate at which new factories were established was in Wales less than half the rate in England. Steel production in Wales fell more than in England. Out of 27 local authorities in Britain whose local rates were over 20s. in the £, 26 were in South Wales. Schools in Wales were being reorganised slower than the English schools. In housing, T.B., the burden of poor relief, maternal and infant mortality, Wales was much worse off than England. Whereas the Welsh birth-rate was higher than the English, the population of Wales dropped while the population of England rose. Those engaged in agriculture in Wales form a higher percentage than in England, but the failure of the Government to assist Welsh agriculture is notorious. Wales has lost about one-sixth (430,000) of the population since 1920 by emigration to England. This is nearly comparable to the loss by England in the same period of the population of Greater London. In many instances, the majority of the chemical, engineering, handicraft, and technical students leaving our schools and colleges left for England. This is a very serious qualitative loss. Add to these the fact that the majority of the industries of Wales are owned by English capitalists and that a large amount of the wealth produced in the

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mines, factories, docks, and farms leaves the country for England, we see that Welsh people suffer from economic inequality due to the political connections between Wales and England.

Wales was joined to England by an Act of Union, 1536. This was not a union of equals: "That His said country or Dominion of Wales shall be, stand and continue for ever from henceforth incorporated, united and annexed to and with His Realm of England." Since that time Wales has been regarded as a region, but not as a nation. The Attorney-General stated in Parliament: "England includes Wales, but not Scotland" (27.1.1944). It was a long fight before the B.B.C. gave Wales a separate service and since the first day of the war the service has only been a couple of hours a week. The control of Welsh radio is still with the B.B.C. The Army talks of its "Western Command." Welsh units in the army have been disbanded. M.P.s laugh when a Welsh member asks for Income Tax forms or Telephone Instructions in Welsh. During the past quarter of a century Parliament has devoted a half day to matters pertaining specifically to Wales, though there is to be a special day during the Session. In the appointment of Government officials seldom is any reference made to any qualifications for dealing with Welsh affairs. In November last, at Llanrwst, seven out of eight magistrates appointed to deal with children were non-Welsh speaking. In Bettws-y-Coed in October three non-Welsh-speaking magistrates listened to a translation of a Welsh defendant's case. Norwegians, Belgians, Czechs have the right to conduct their own courts in Britain in their own language, but not Welshmen. There is no single authority or body or organisation to look after the interests of Wales as a unit and to preserve her characteristics as a nation. For this, England, which regards Wales as a region similar to Yorkshire or Lancashire, without any rights apart and different from Britain as a whole, is responsible. This is the political inequality which Wales has to bear.

One of the clauses of the 1536 Act has as its purpose to "extirp all and singular the sinister Usages and Customs of Wales." This is still the law. Many of our old customs are forgotten and many more are becoming disused. In a world of mass production of ideas and opinions it is that authority which controls the means of production of opinion that will prevail. The radio, cinema, and many schools are anglicising influences, and as their impact increases so we see a sharp decline in Welsh cultural life: the customs, traditions and folklore of Wales are rapidly becoming merely the field of study of the research worker. Another clause of the Act of Union which has yet to be repealed reads: "No person or persons that use the Welsh language or speech shall have or enjoy any manner of office or fees within this realm upon pain of forfeiting the same offices or fees unless he or they use and exercise the English language or speech." Before the Act of Union Welsh was the language of the people and Latin was used for educational and religious purposes. The Normans who came to Wales learned to speak Welsh; but today, Englishmen, with rare exceptions, expect all the facilities of the country without paying the elementary tribute of learning the language. This is not the fault of individual English people but of the cultural relationship between Wales and England. There are schools in Welsh-speaking areas of Wales which give their instruction in English. The children hear Welsh at home, they use Welsh during play, yet they are taught in English. In the majority of our secondary schools Welsh is an alternative subject, like French or

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Latin, yet very few of those who study French will ever read or speak it after schooldays, but practically all our secondary school pupils will have an opportunity of reading or speaking Welsh. In some schools, Welsh is not a time-table subject at all. This, then, is the cultural inequality.

The national movement in Wales is not strong, though the interest of the working-class is growing. As a political movement, it is not clear as to its tasks. Hitherto, its most active section has been the Welsh Nationalist Party which is essentially a party of small traders, intellectuals, officials, and professional workers. It has had very little support from the working-class and none from the organised labour movement. It aims at the maximum distribution of property, peasant proprietorship on a family basis, and less industrialisation. It strives to return to the principles of the middle ages. In this, it has close affinities with the Roman Catholic Church. This is why the Welsh Nationalist Party expends its sympathies on the dispossessed rich peasants (Kulaks) of old Russia; why it never campaigns for an improved social service; why it took the middle course of blaming both sides in the coal lock-out of 1926 and during the Franco rebellion in Spain, 1936 ; why it has failed time and again to estimate correctly the strength and policy of the Soviet Union; why it fears the progressive outcome of the present war; why certain aspects of fascism appeal to it. Here is a quotation from the editorial of its official organ, *Y Ddraig Goch*:—

> There are many virtues and excellences in fascism. It is not possible to read anything authoritative on the movement in Italy, nor on fascist principles, without esteeming its ideals and patriotic spirit. It may be seen at once, for instance, that many of the ideals of fascism form an important part of the ideals of the Welsh Nationalist Party. This is not due to any accident and there has been no borrowing. But the Welsh Nationalist Party have also gone to the same fount as the fascist leaders to seek living water to revive the desert of our social life. That fount is the best tradition of European countries before the industrial and capitalist revolution which destroyed Christian society and the graciousness of civilisation.

The Communist Party believes strongly in Welsh National Freedom and Rights. It believes that Welsh people have to become proud of their nationality, to preserve it and to develop it. The war is teaching many of the great achievements of the Soviet Union. One of her greatest is to solve the national question. The solution adopted in the U.S.S.R. may appear simple or just, but the truth is that in no other country in the world where a national problem existed has a solution even been approached, whereas the Soviet Union has completely solved it. The recent amendments to the Union Constitution giving the Union Republics the right to have diplomatic representation abroad and separate army units provide the proof of the internal strength of the Soviet Union. All restrictions based on nationality have been removed and the more backward receive the most encouragement and support to develop. Union and Autonomous Republics have the right to self-determination and even to secede from the Union if they so wish. (Finland was granted independence in accordance with this right in 1918.) This unprecedented solution of the problem of nationalities is only possible in a socialist country. We in Wales can affirm that only socialism can give us complete national freedom, but a partial solution is possible even under capitalism. This is how the Welsh Committee of the Communist Party writes on this issue in its current pamphlet—the first attempt of any political movement in Wales to outline a policy and programme for the future of Wales—*Wales in the New World:*

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As an immediate step, we support the demand of the Welsh people for a Secretary of State for Wales, and similar powers of self-government as now exists for Scotland. And we do this not merely to give Wales a higher status, but because it will help to secure more equitable treatment for Welsh industry and agriculture.

This is only the first step. It must be combined with the formation of a National Administrative Council for Wales which can co-ordinate and unify the work of the local authorities. Instead of individual Councils with their separate post-war plans, often clashing with a neighbouring authority and each competing for the sanction of Whitehall, all local authorities would contribute toward a united national plan.

Our perspective is a Welsh Parliament to deal with Welsh affairs, but remaining as an integral part of the British Parliament. This will not only enable Wales to develop as a nation, but help to improve the efficiency of the British parliamentary system and its democratic methods.

It is along these lines that Wales can fully develop. The supporter of the Nationalist Party must recognise that only by strengthening the unity of the labour movement, by opposing the ideology of the petty-bourgeois elements, by acknowledging that class interests can be more important than nationality, can he truly promote Welsh life and culture. The Welsh industrial worker must learn to regard his country with pride and to participate in her development; he must help to bridge the gap between him and the rural worker. He must not oppose national rights because he believes in a vague internationalism, for only through national emancipation can we reach international co-operation. "Mankind," Lenin wrote, "can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transition period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations." There are non-Welsh speaking people in Wales who assert that they do not feel any of the national aspirations. Their problem is political, not linguistic. They must be taught that they are members of the Welsh nation, inheritors of her tradition and history, that when Welsh life and industry starts to develop in a really progressive way they will feel the need of sharing in this. There are young men and women in schools and colleges who, with the consent and often at the instigation of their parents, neglect their Welsh studies and explain that they will have to leave Wales to enter a job. "Of what use is Welsh?" This must not be. The draining away of the nation's best asset—the educated, adventurous youth—will cease with the implementation of the Communist Party's policy and we shall enter a period of regeneration and growth. The Englishman no less than the indifferent Welshman must learn to respect nationality. "A nation which oppresses another cannot itself be free," wrote Marx. The attitude of superiority of many English people with the corresponding attitude of inferiority of many Welshmen poisons their lives. These attitudes are but the reflections in human relations of the relations that exist between the two nations.

The way forward for Wales is clear. The fight for National Rights is not separate from the general political struggle. The trade unions, Labour Party, Co-operative Movement and all progressives must be drawn in. As the spearhead of reaction is ruthlessly destroyed by the military might of the Allies so the right to reform their political and economic forms will come to all nations, including Wales.

(We print the above article as of particular interest following on the Welsh day in the House of Commons last month.—ED. L.M.)

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The Tribe of Ambassadors

Ten Years in Japan. A contemporary record drawn from the Diaries, Private and Personal Papers of Joseph Grew, United States Ambassador to Japan, 1932-42. (Hammond, Hammond & Co., 480 pp., price 15/-).

THE AMBASSADORS of His Britannic Majesty to the fascist countries form a curious collection whose habits and outlook would repay study. The ambassadors of the United States, whether to fascist or peace-loving powers, are a rather different collection; more difficult to classify, but just for this reason also worthy of study.

The United Kingdom had for over a century built up its regular Diplomatic Service to be a holy of holies where men of family were not bothered by the intrusion of brainy nobodies from the lower middle class, so that exquisitely-mannered gentlemen with a profound knowledge of etiquette could be at ease with even the fussiest European monarchs and hold their own with some, at any rate, of the Foreign Secretaries. Thus diplomacy was carried on; and—thanks partly to the electric telegraph—did not collapse until the crisis of the 1914-18 war, when prominent statesmen and party leaders had hastily to be sent to take over: (A. J. Balfour to Washington; Lord Derby to Paris; Arthur Henderson to Petrograd); or again in this war (Lord Lothian and then Lord Halifax to Washington; Sir Stafford Cripps in a critical period to Moscow; Lord Templewood (Sam Hoare) to Spain; and Duff Cooper to France). Hence Mr. Eden's announcement of a small reform, long-overdue, in the Diplomatic Service.

But between wars the practice had reverted to the past; and it was possible for Prime Minister Chamberlain to pick out a Neville Henderson (*Failure of a Mission*) to fawn upon the Nazis, or for a Sir Francis Lindley, Ambassador in Japan, to come back as a crony of Neville Chamberlain, or earlier for Sir Rennell Rodd (father of the AMGOT chief) to return from friendship with Mussolini to build a strike-breaking organisation in 1925.

In the United States it has been different. There the "plums" of the diplomatic profession have been reserved for wealthy veterans of the Republican or Democratic parties. Millionaires who, born under European skies, might happily have purchased a barony or a marquisate, had conferred upon them the honour of being Ambassador to the Court of St. James, or to St. Petersburg. This practice, though liable to produce grotesque results (e.g., Ambassador Francis in Petrograd in 1917-18), nevertheless left in the hands of the President a wide choice which Roosevent exercised with conspicuous success by sending Joseph Davies to Moscow and the liberal historian, Dodds, to Nazi Berlin; and was therefore as much superior at its best to the use of career diplomats as it was inferior at its worst. In the case of Japan, however, where a focus of aggressive war had developed with the seizure of Manchuria in 1931, the situation was peculiar. The last Republican administration decided to send to this storm centre a career diplomat, who was agreeably surprised when Roosevelt kept him on. With this choice there could be no fireworks as with Dodds in Berlin, but on the other hand, nothing of the special quality displayed by Davis in his Mission to Moscow.

So what we get from this book is a picture, not so much of Japan, as of the typical career diplomat and his limited circle.

The United States Ambassador was in an aggressor country with the main characteristics of fascism—domination of monopolies, suppression of working-class parties, the "law of dangerous thoughts," inflamed nationalism and militarism complete with a theory of "Herrenvolk," police - thugs, fifth columns abroad and lust of world conquest. Here were the additional peculiarities of Japanese fascism — monopoly linked with strong feudal survivals, secret societies, Satsuma and other clans, Shinto religion, etc.

What does he tell us of these features of Japan? On the whole very little—as, indeed, is only to be expected from one whose circle is bounded by the Imperial Court, the Foreign Office, the Corps of Ambassadors, the Golf Club, and the American Colony.

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Therefore this book is useful chiefly for its frank daily record of the little that Mr. Grew was able to piece together, from his conversations and informants—and that mainly on international affairs. He does not always get it right, for example, in February, 1934, he notes:—

"The highest influences in the country are pacific. The Emperor is a man of mild and peaceful character. The era of his reign is characterised by the word 'Showa,' which he himself chose and which means 'enlightened peace.' . . . A strong group of liberals in the country have been steadily working behind the scenes, and are, it is believed, developing more strength than they formerly possessed. At a recent dinner at the Tokyo Club in honour of Sir Francis Lindley, the British Ambassador, and Ambassador Debuchi, Baron Hayashi, the chairman, in introducing the speakers, said slowly and with firmness, in tone nearly menacing and emphasising his remark with a bang of his fist on the table: 'We want peace!' This is a small detail, but Baron Hayashi is Grand Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Court and one of the Emperor's favourites." (p. 111):—

Fourteen months before Pearl Harbour, Matsuoka handed to him "a Statement to the United States concerning the Three Power Alliance" to the general effect that the pact was aimed at no particular country:—

"If Japan, Germany and Italy unite, the probability of being attacked by another country is decreased, the spreading of world disorder may be prevented, and in this sense the Alliance contributes to world peace. By this Treaty Japan has further clarified its intention to establish a new order in Greater East Asia, including the South Seas."

The statement said that Japan's policy towards China was part of this endeavour:—

"However, owing to the lack of understanding of some Chinese people and to the attitude taken by England and the United States in not recognising Manchukuo, which gave rise to Chang-kai-Shek's hope of recovering Manchukuo, an unfortunate clash of arms broke out . . . the powers are not only checking Japan's actions through legalistic arguments and treaty pronouncements which have become inapplicable because of changed conditions, but are also oppressing Japan through such means as restrictions on the exportation of important commodities to Japan. . . . Japan concluded a defensive alliance with Germany and Italy for no other purpose than to resist such pressure from the powers, and there is not the slightest intention to proceed to attack another country. . . . Japan is determined to settle all pending questions and to promote and foster friendship with the United States." (p. 296.)

It is useful to have this record, particularly at this moment when a greater effort against Japan is being prepared.

R. P. A.

Shorter Notice

Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs. Nos. 1-16: 9*d* each. Nos. 1, 3, 15: 1*s* 6*d* each. Oxford University Press.

THE Oxford University Press, through its Indian branch, has shown commendable enterprise in bringing out a series of informative pamphlets on Indian affairs, written mainly by Indian authors. The subjects covered range over a wide series of economic, social and constitutional questions. While the standard varies, and all are subject to the limitation of an academic approach which is precluded from touching the more thorny controversial issues, such as the land system, effects of imperialist exploitation, etc., nevertheless they contain useful information and concise summaries of many special subjects. Among the more useful are *Industrialisation* by P. S. Lokanathan, *The Economic Background*, by K. T. Shah, P. J. Thomas and others, *Wartime Prices* by P. J. Thomas, *The Health of India* by J. B. Grant, and *The Educational System*, by various authors.

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